

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 120475 TOSEC 010248

FOLLOWING REPEAT LISBON 2887 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN
KINSHASA LONDON LUANDA MADRID PARIS USMISSION NATO DIA USCINCEUR
DTD 22 MAY 75
QUOTE:

EPT PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, PO, NATO

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER VASCO GONCALVES

REFS: STATE 115959, STATE 115914

SUMMARY: GONCALVES ACCEPTS PRESIDENT'S INVITATION FOR
BILATERAL AT NATO SUMMIT. WILL BE ACCOMPANIED TO SUMMIT
BY FONMIN MELO ANTUNES AND ADMIRAL ROSA COUTINHO. IN
PREPARATION FOR SUMMIT EXCHANGED VIEWS WITH HIM ON USG
CONCERNS RE PORTUGAL, THIRD WORLDISM AND NEUTRALISM, SPAIN
AND NATO, ALLEGATIONS RE "ECONOMIC BOYCOTT," AND
PROTECTION OF U.S. MISSION. GONCALVES ASKED WHETHER
USG COULD BE HELPFUL WITH MOBUTU ON ANGOLA. END SUMMARY.

1. PRESENTED INVITATION TO VASCO GONCALVES TO MEET WITH
PRESIDENT FORD AT NATO SUMMIT. HE ACCEPTS WITH PLEASURE,
ALTHOUGH HE HAS TIMING PROBLEMS (EMBASSY WILL DISCUSS WITH
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ADVANCE PARTY IN BRUSSELS BY TELEPHONE). VASCO GONCALVES WILL BE
ACCOMPANIED AT MEETING BY FONMIN MELO ANTUNES AND REVOLUTIONARY
COUNCIL MEMBER ADMIRAL ROSA COUTINHO.

2. ASKED VASCO GONCALVES WHAT SUBJECTS HE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH PRESIDENT. GONCALVES THREW QUESTION BACK AT ME, ASKING WHAT I THOUGHT APPROPRIATE. I TOLD GONCALVES THAT A FRANK DISCUSSION OF OUR MUTUAL CONCERNS SEEMED TO BE IN ORDER AND WE MIGHT EXCHANGE VIEWS RIGHT NOW IN PREPARATION. TOLD HIM I HAD JUST RETURNED FROM CONSULTATION IN WASHINGTON; WOULD SPEAK CANDIDLY; EXPECTED HE WOULD AS WELL.

3. USG CONCERNS: FIRST OF ALL, AS HE KNEW, WE SUPPORT DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN PORTUGAL. WE ALSO UNDERSTAND AFM EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT GREATER SOCIAL JUSTICE. IF GOP HAS OPTED FOR SOCIALISM THAT IS AN INTERNAL MATTER AND WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF INTERFERING IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. USG HAS GOOD RELATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. NOR DO WE QUARREL WITH EFFORTS BY GOP TO ESTABLISH FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES.

4. OUR PROBLEM AROSE WHEN WE FOUND A NATO ALLY TAKING HOSTILE POSITIONS TOWARDS US. GONCALVES IMMEDIATELY OBJECTED THAT GOP HAD NEVER BEEN HOSTILE. I SHOWED HIM MAY 20 AFM BULLETIN ON VIET-NAM (LISBON 2845). GONCALVES WAS OBVIOUSLY TAKEN ABACK. SAID HE HAD NOT READ ARTICLE BUT WOULD DO SO. I ALSO TOLD HIM REPEATED PROVOCATORY STATEMENTS BY BRIG. OTELO CARVALHO COULD HARDLY BE CONSIDERED FRIENDLY.

5. THIRD-WORLDISM: MORE SPECIFICALLY, HOWEVER, I SAID USG HAD TROUBLE UNDERSTANDING THIRD WORLDISM AND NEUTRALISM ON PART OF A NATO COUNTRY. IF PORTUGAL WANTED TO BE PART OF THIRD WORLD, THAT WAS HER BUSINESS, BUT I THOUGHT THE THEORIES EXPOUNDED BY PRIME MINISTER CONFLICTED WITH SOME OF THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF NATO. GONCALVES SAID ALL THAT WAS MEANT BY NEUTRALISM WAS FRIENDLY RELATION WITH THE THIRD WORLD. WE WILL CONTINUE TO FULFILL OUR NATO OBLIGATIONS, HE SAID.

6. I SAID WE DID NOT QUESTION GOP STATEMENT ON FULFILLING NATO OBLIGATIONS. OUR CONCERN WAS THAT GOP ATTITUDES AND THE WHOLE ATMOSPHERE HERE COULD LEAD TOWARD A WEAKENING OF NATO.
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FACT WAS THAT NATO WAS A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE AGAINST THE SOVIET THREAT. IF PORTUGAL NO LONGER BELIEVED IN THE DANGERS OF COMMUNISM THEN I HAD TO QUESTION WHETHER IT WAS APPROPRIATE FOR HER TO REMAIN IN NATO. THAT WAS A PORTUGUESE DECISION, OF COURSE, BUT ONCE AGAIN I COULD NOT HELP BUT WONDER ABOUT THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN A GOVERNMENT THAT EMBRACES COMMUNISTS WITHIN AND YET REMAINS PART OF AN ANTI-COMMUNIST ALLIANCE.

7. GONCALVES REPEATED GOP'S COMMITMENT TO NATO AND SAID THIRD WORLDISM DID NOT EQUATE WITH NEUTRALISM. THIRD WORLD THEORY HAD RESULTED FROM GOP DESIRE TO DEVELOP BETTER RELATIONS WITH ITS EX-COLONIES. IT AMOUNTED TO A POLICY OF MORE OPEN RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES AND WAS NOT DESIGNED TO UPSET

ANY EXISTING ARRANGEMENTS. GOP FAVORED A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS BETWEEN NATO COUNTRIES AND WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES, AND WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN CSCE. HE IMPLIED VERY INDIRECTLY THAT DETENTE COULD LEAD TO A GENERAL RELAXATION IN NATO POSTURE.

8. I SAID USG ALSO SUPPORTED RELAXATION OF TENSIONS, BUT IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE SUCH A RELAXATION WE HAVE TO BE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE FROM STRENGTH, AND NATO IS A SOURCE OF STRENGTH. GONCALVES ACCEPTED THIS. SAID RE RECOGNIZED THAT ANY NEGOTIATION HAD TO DEPEND ON MILITARY FORCE. WE CONCLUDED THIS PART OF THE DISCUSSION WITH MY POINTING OUT THAT NATO SUMMIT WOULD BE AN APPROPRIATE TIME FOR GONCALVES TO INDICATE HIS UNDERSTANDING OF THIS CONCEPT AND TO CLARIFY HIS POSITION ON THIRD WORLDISM.

9. SUMMIT DECLARATION: I PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING SPECIFIC AND POSITIVE IN FINAL NATO SUMMIT DECLARATION. GONCALVES WAS AWARE OF COMPETING DRAFTS BUT HAD NOT STUDIED THEM AND HAD NO POSITION ON THEM.

10. SPAIN AND NATO: GONCALVES THEN SAID: "BUT YOU WANT TO HAVE SPAIN IN NATO*" I SAID WE THOUGHT SPAIN COULD MAKE A VERY REAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIANCE. FACT THAT WE WERE HAVING A DISCUSSION ALONG THESE LINES HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH OUR POSITION RE PORTUGAL AND NATO. GONCALVES BACKED DOWN A BIT SAYING PORTUGAL HAD A PACT WITH SPAIN ITSELF, AND HENCE COULD NOT CIRCUMVENT AN EFFORT TO BRING SPAIN INTO NATO.
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HOWEVER, HE WONDERED, WOULD NOT ADDING ANOTHER COUNTRY TO NATO PREJUDICE THE POLICY OF DETENTE? I REFERRED AGAIN TO THE NECESSITY OF NEGOTIATING FROM STRENGTH AND EMPHASIZED THAT NATO WAS DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE. GONCALVES DID NOT PRESS FURTHER ON SPAIN AND SAID HE HAD ONLY EXPRESSED A PERSONAL VIEW, NOT A GOP POSITION.

1. ECONOMIC BOYCOTT: I TOLD GONCALVES THERE HAD BEEN SOME PUZZLEMENT IN WASHINGTON ABOUT HIS CHARGES OF ECONOMIC BOYCOTT, AND THAT THERE WAS NO SUCH BOYCOTT ON THE PART OF THE U.S. GONCALVES SAID HE WAS TALKING PURELY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF INDIVIDUAL COMPANIES, NOT GOVERNMENTS AND HE HAD NOT SINGLED OUT U.S. I POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT COMPANIES MADE THEIR OWN DECISIONS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR ABILITY TO OPERATE, AND THAT PLANT TAKEOVERS HERE HAD MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR A NUMBER OF COMPANIES TO CONTINUE PRODUCTION. I CITED THE CASE OF TORRINGTON, WHICH HE NOTED. MOREOVER, I SAID, WHEN MARKETS DROP, COMPANIES HAVE TO BE ABLE TO LAY OFF EMPLOYEES. FACT THAT THEY CANNOT DO THIS PUTS THEM IN AN INTOLERABLE POSITION. GONCALVES ASKED IF THESE WEREN'T BY AND LARGE COMPANIES THAT WERE HERE PRINCIPALLY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF CHEAP LABOR AND EXPORT THEIR PRODUCTS ABROAD.

I INDICATED THAT MOST COMPANIES WERE WILLING TO PAY HIGHER WAGES, BUT THE PRESENT HARASSMENT WENT FAR BEYOND LEGITIMATE LABOR DEMANDS.

12. PROTECTION OF U.S. EMBASSY: I TOLD GONCALVES FOR THE RECORD THAT THE USG HAD DONE NOTHING TO DISCOURAGE EITHER INVESTMENT OR TOURISM. TO THE CONTRARY OUR STATEMENTS HAD BEEN VERY POSITIVE. GONCALVES SAID HE KNEW THIS. I POINTED OUT, THOUGH, THAT PRESS REPORTS ABOUT DEMONSTRATORS DEFACING THE EMBASSY AND DESTROYING CARS CERTAINLY DID NOT HELP THE TOURIST TRADE, NOT DID IT IMPROVE GOP IMAGE ABROAD. I TOLD HIM PROTECTION SUNDAY HAD BEEN TOTALLY INADEQUATE. HE WAS AWARE OF DEPARTMENT'S PROTEST BUT WAS NOT AWARE THAT SOLDIERS HAD GIVEN DEMONSTRATORS VIRTUAL FREE HAND. HE SAID SUNDAY'S EVENTS HAD BEEN A PROVOCATION BY MRPP TO DIVIDE ARMED FORCES AS WELL AS TO DAMAGE RELATIONS WITH U.S. I SAID I UNDERSTOOD THAT, BUT THAT PROTECTION WAS STILL GOP RESPONSIBILITY. HE AGREED.

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13. ANGOLA: TOLD GONCALVES PRESIDENT FORD MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN HIS VIEWS ON ANGOLAN SITUATION. HE SAID HE HAD INTENDED TO TALK TO ME ABOUT ANGOLA, BECAUSE HE THOUGHT U.S. COULD BE HELPFUL IN REDUCING ANGOLAN TENSIONS. GOP HAD A POLICY OF STRICT NEUTRALITY BETWEEN THE THREE COMPETING FACTIONS. THIS WAS THE ONLY WAY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM. HE ASKED IF THE U.S. COULD USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH MOBUTU TO ENCOURAGE HIM NOT TO INTERFERE. MOBUTU HAD OFFICIALLY SAID HE WOULD NOT INVOLVE HIMSELF BUT HE WAS SENDING IN MEN AND EQUIPMENT.

14. I SAID OUR INFLUENCE WITH MOBUTU WAS NOT AS GREAT AS GENERALLY PERCEIVED BUT I WOULD CONTACT WASHINGTON TO SEE IF THERE WAS SOME WAY WE COULD BE HELPFUL. HE ASKED THAT I TELL HIM WHAT WE COULD DO PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR SUMMIT. HE ALSO ASKED THAT I PROVIDE HIM WITH WHATEVER INTELLIGENCE WE MIGHT HAVE ON ANGOLA. IT WAS CLEAR THAT GONCALVES WAS QUITE WORRIED ABOUT ANGOLA SITUATION.

15. GONCALVES CLOSED OUR HOUR-LONG CONVERSATION BY SAYING WE HAD TO REMEMBER ONE THING ABOUT GOP. "WE ARE ALL MILITARY MEN AND WE LIVE BY THE MILITARY ETHIC. WE HAVE NO HIDDEN MOTIVES. THIS MAY BE A DIPLOMATIC DISADVANTAGE BUT WE ARE INCAPABLE OF INTRIGUE. EVERYTHING WE SAY AND DO IS VERY TRANSPARENT."

16. I TOLD HIM I THOUGHT THAT QUALITY OF FORTHRIGHTNESS WAS A DIPLOMATIC ADVANTAGE, NOT A DISADVANTAGE. HE WOULD FIND PRESIDENT FOR A VERY DIRECT AND PLAIN SPEAKING PERSON WITH WHOM HE COULD TALK FRANKLY. GONCALVES SAID HE LOOKED FORWARD TO THIS CONVERSATION, AND HE HOPED IT WOULD COVER THE SAME MATTERS WE HAD

JUST DISCUSSED.

17. COMMENT: FOR WHATEVER REASON VASCO GONCALVES WAS IN A RELATIVELY POSITIVE MOOD RE NATO, AND ACCEPTED OUR CONCERNS WITH BETTER GRACE THAN HE HAS IN THE PAST. HE SEEMS TO REACT WELL TO DIRECT TALK PROVIDING, AND I STRESS THIS POINT, THAT IT IS DIRECTED AT GOP FOREIGN POLICY AND DOES NOT TOUCH HIS SENSITIVE NERVE ON INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

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18. THAT ROSA COUTINHO WILL ACCOMPANY HIM REFLECTS COUTINHO'S GROWING POWER. SUGGEST USDEL TRY TO HAVE SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH HIM. HE SPEAKS ENGLISH, WHEREAS GONCALVES DOES NOT.
CARLUCCI

UNQUOTE. INGERSOLL

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